



TOOLS FOR ANTI-NUCLEAR ORGANIZING IN THE AGE OF TERROR

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“Recognizing that there can be no end to the mounting danger of radioactive death unless the bomb and the reactor are challenged as a single enemy, the War Resisters League advocates nonviolent action to close down every nuclear power plant and dismantle every nuclear weapon — *in every nation*. Nonviolence is action without hatred, revolution without guns, justice without prisons, and energy without nukes.”

— back of WRL Stop Nuclear Terror Tag, 1978

This packet is a resource developed by WRL's Disarmament Task Force. We invite you to use it (in whole or in part) as you see fit for organizing, educating, mobilizing and resisting. All we ask is that you credit WRL. Donations are always welcome.

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TOOLS FOR ANTI-NUCLEAR ORGANIZING IN THE AGE OF TERROR

I. Introduction

The War Resisters League's Disarmament Task Force has compiled this packet as a tool for antinuclear organizing. Enclosed are resources, analysis and ideas. We invite you to use them (in whole or in part) as you see fit for organizing, educating, mobilizing and resisting. All we ask is that you credit WRL.

The anniversaries of the U.S. atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki — August 6th and August 9th — are fast approaching once again.

As images from the World Trade Center site in Manhattan have been tattooed on the hearts and brains of Americans, the term "Ground Zero" takes on new meaning to Americans. But on this 57th anniversary, we would be well served to commemorate the first Ground Zero in Hiroshima, the incineration of 100,000 in a single instant and the countless tens of thousands who have died of radiation exposure and cancers in the half century since. We would be well served to remember the beginning of the nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States and the fact that the nuclear arms race continues without the Soviet Union. The "war on terrorism" has given the Bush administration new confidence to roll back two decades of progress (slow as it has been) on nuclear arms control and to put nuclear weapons back on the front burner of American military strategy.

"With the splitting of the atom everything has changed save the way we think. Thus we drift towards unparalleled catastrophe."

—ALBERT EINSTEIN, 1946

"Don't send Special Forces in [to Afghanistan] to sweep. Put a tactical nuclear device in and close these caves for a thousand years."

—INDIANA REPRESENTATIVE STEVEN BUYER, 2001

We must put the nuclear weapons back on the front burner as well. Twenty years ago — on June 12th, 1982 — more than one million people poured into New York City's Central Park to call for nuclear disarmament and nuclear abolition. The work of June 12, 1982, is not finished. We need to harness the spirit of that extraordinary moment in American history and finish the unfinished business of nuclear disarmament and abolition.

The work is not finished. As we enter the 21st century, the world is once again engulfed in war. This time it is an open-ended, brutal war against "terrorism," which is providing the rationale for wanton U.S. aggression throughout the world. Under the rubric of fighting terrorism, the U.S. has significantly increased military spending, rolled back civil liberties, ushered in a comprehensive right-wing agenda, and established new military, economic and political relations with human rights abusers and dictatorships throughout the world.

The work is not finished. The Bush administration is proposing to dramatically *expand*



the role of nuclear weapons in U.S. strategy. In January 2002, the Bush administration released its Nuclear Posture Review, stating the U.S. intention to give nuclear weapons a new lease on life.

The work is not finished. In February 2002, the Doomsday Clock inched closer to nuclear midnight — from 9 to 7 minutes. The clock, designed by the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* to dramatize the peril posed by nuclear weapons, was moved forward to reflect the lack of progress made on global nuclear disarmament and the danger posed by U.S. nuclear unilateralism.

The work is not finished. Bush's plan is not just empty rhetoric. Cold hard cash backs it up. The Bush administration is proposing to spend more than \$8 billion on the Department of Energy's nuclear weapons projects and an additional \$5 billion on the Stockpile Stewardship Management project, for a total of \$13 billion in nuclear weapons spending for 2003.

The work is not finished. National Missile Defense threatens to plunge the world into a new nuclear arms race. Missile defense research and development is already slated for \$8.4 billion in funding in the FY 2003 budget (even before major equipment has been bought), and the pursuit of an emergency missile defense capability could easily add another \$10 billion or more over the next five years. A recent *Congressional Budget Office* report suggests missile defense systems could cost up to \$238 billion over the next two decades.

The work is not finished. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Ottawa Landmine Treaty are respectively unratified, abrogated, undermined,

ignored and unsigned by the USA.

The work is not finished. The U.S. has spent more than \$5.5 trillion dollars on nuclear weapons over the past 50 years or about \$110 billion a year. More than ten years after the end of the Cold War, it is unthinkable (but shamefully true) that the U.S. will spend around \$13 billion on nuclear-related activities in 2003.

The work is not finished. The million people who crowded into New York on June 12, 1982 have never gathered again in the same numbers or with the same intensity of purpose. For real change to occur now we need that same passion and fervor for change.

The work is not finished. We must pick it up again. We must finish it. As never before, it is within our grasp. United, people of conscience can prove to be the world's most vital resource. Join us as we seek to finish the task, to end the nuclear nightmare that has stalked humanity for more than 50 years and enter a new and brighter day. At the ceremony for the signing of the Landmine Treaty, Nobel Prize winner Jody Williams declared, "Together *we* are a superpower. It is a new definition of superpower. It is not one of us, it is all of us." 121 nations signed the landmine treaty, but not the U.S. The work is not finished.

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TOOLS FOR ANTI-NUCLEAR ORGANIZING IN THE AGE OF TERROR

II. Acting Locally, Thinking Globally: Resources for Organizing and Resisting

The War Resisters League has some valuable resources for organizing around nuclear issues that are useful anytime. Here are a few, along with some ideas for timely resistance! You don't need huge numbers of people to have a visible protest or vigil. A small number of people can reach a large number.

Demonstrations and Vigils

August 6 & 9 are traditional days of action throughout the world (literally). Groups hold activities in local parks, in front of federal buildings, and at nearby nuclear-related facilities to call for nuclear and conventional disarmament and compensation for radiation victims and to remind people of the true costs of war. Large rallies and conferences are held in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, on those days as well. At the end of this sheet there is a very partial list of planned activities. Call or email WRL for more detailed information.

Float Lanterns for Hope

In rivers throughout the world, floating lanterns has become a way of commemorating those who died in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and expressing our hope that nuclear weapons will never be used again. You can invite speakers, and musicians or hold a brief ceremony to launch the lanterns followed by a silent vigil. Floating lantern ceremonies are usually held at dusk or soon after. Mention to the group assembled that these Lanterns for Hope are floating throughout the world.

Making a floating lantern: You need wood for a base (approx. 6" x 5 1/2" x 1/2"), candles (small votive or tea light candles that come in metal cups), and small paper bags with flat bottoms or large paper cups. Attach the bag or cup- open side up- to the wooden base with staples or tacks. Tack the

metal cup into the middle of the container, and place the candle back in the cup. In order to be able to retrieve the lanterns and prevent littering, attach a long string or fishing line to the base.

Shadow Project

When the first atomic bomb exploded in Hiroshima in August 1945, people near Ground Zero were instantly evaporated, leaving behind only their shadows etched in the pavement. The Shadow Project uses the images of these innocent victims to provide a solemn memorial with a simple purpose: to help people understand and imagine the disappearance of life through the use of nuclear weapons.

Participants gather in their communities equipped with shadow stencils and nonpermanent whitewash. Stencils should be made life sized by tracing the figure of a fallen person onto heavy cardboard and cutting it out. Work in teams of two at night. Lay the stencil down and whitewash the shadow onto streets and sidewalks. Make sure there is a way to let people know what the shadow represents — a simple leaflet or placards will do.

Lower the American Flag

Why not ask that all American flags be lowered to half-mast on August 6th and August 9th as a sign that American citizens mourn the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Focus on flags outside the



local post office, city hall, the library, churches, schools, colleges and other public places.

Send letters and pay a visit to each place where an American flag is displayed. Even if officials refuse to lower the flag, at least you will have alerted them to the dates and started a local discussion. If you are successful in arranging a flag lowering, be sure there is a notice in your local paper so that people are informed about why the flag's at half-mast.

Ring Church Bells

The U.S. bombed Hiroshima on August 6, 1945 at 8:15am and Nagasaki on August 9, 1945 at 11:02am (Japanese time). Arrange for local church bells to ring at those times. Remember to put a notice in church bulletins and local papers so people know why the bells are ringing.

Have a Die-In

Done legally or as civil disobedience, this can show what happens when nuclear weapons are used. A group of people, perhaps wearing placards identifying them as victims of U.S. nuclearism, all lie on the ground and pretend to be dead at a predetermined signal — perhaps an air raid siren or other loud and ominous noise. Theatrics like moaning, screaming and writhing around in pain are optional, but effective in dramatizing the suffering of those under nuclear attack. At an agreed upon time, or signal, the participants can rise (or if this is an arrest situation await the police to haul them away).

Wear White

White is the funeral color in Japan. Whatever action is taken to commemorate the U.S. atomic bombing, it would be powerful for participants to wear white symbolizing collective mourning for the death of so many in Japan.

August 6-9 Annual Commemoration Activities *(very partial list)*

The three groups listed below have traditionally brought large groups of people together for annual

gatherings of resistance and remembrance at important sites. But throughout the country and the world, hundreds (maybe thousands) of communities and organizations have visible events using the tactics listed above and others.

- Every year since 1980, the ATLANTIC LIFE COMMUNITY has organized a “faith and resistance” retreat in Washington, DC from August 5 to 9. In the past, activities have included protests and vigils at the White House, Pentagon, Department of Energy and other nuclear-related sites in the DC area. For information on what is being planned for 2002, please call 410-233-6238.
- THE OAK RIDGE ENVIRONMENTAL PEACE ALLIANCE (OREPA) in Tennessee plans an annual “Action for Peace” at the Y-12 Nuclear Weapons Complex, the last operating nuclear weapons production facility in the country, responsible for producing, upgrading and storing nuclear weapons and nuclear materials. Visit www.stopthebombs.org for more information.
- THE NEVADA DESERT EXPERIENCE plans a yearly August vigil at the Nevada Test Site, where the majority of aboveground and underground nuclear weapons tests took place through the 1980s. The dates for 2002 have not been set yet; check www.nevadadesertexperience.org for more information.

Resources

For those of you who are new to organizing or need to brush up, we suggest you order the War Resisters League's *Organizers Manual*, edited by Ed Hedemann. This is an excellent, basic introduction to how-to organizing. You can order it online at the WRL Bookstore www.warresisters.org/store/commerce.cgi?product=organizing or call the WRL national office, 212-228-0450.

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III. Nukes are Back: Nuclear Policy in the Bush Administration

By Carmen Trotta and Frida Berrigan
War Resisters League Disarmament Task Force

Nuclear weapons are back.

They are *en vogue*.

Some members of Congress are foaming at the mouth at the opportunity to nuke Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda.

Representative Steven Buyer, the right wing congressman from northern Indiana, said of the war in Afghanistan, "Don't send Special Forces in there to sweep. Put a tactical nuclear device in and close these caves for a thousand years." Tactical nuclear weapons are short-range weapons, dropped from planes.

Representative Peter King (R-NY) said in a radio interview, "I would never rule out tactical nuclear weapons if I thought they could do the job."

Defense Secretary Rumsfeld did not rule out the use of "tactical" or short-range nuclear weapons in Afghanistan. When asked, he said, "I don't rule anything" out. "The United States has historically refused to rule out the use of weapons like that." In fact, leaked portions of a classified Pentagon report called the Nuclear Posture Review recommend that U.S. nuclear weapons shift from being tools of deterrence and weapons of last resort to central, usable components of the U.S. "anti-terror" arsenal.

Nuclear Weapons are Back, But They Never Really Went Away

- The United States has approximately 7,300 strategic nuclear weapons.
- The United States has 550 ICBMs (Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles — long-range

missiles that can reach Moscow in a half an hour) stored in silos throughout the West.

- A single U.S. nuclear submarine carries up to 192 warheads and could kill or maim about a third of Russia's population, some 50 million people. The United States has 18 of these submarines.
- From 1940 to 1995, United States spent about \$3.5 trillion on nuclear weapons.
- This year, between Dept. of Defense and Dept. of Energy programs, the U.S. will spend about \$35 billion on nuclear weapons.

Not only are nuclear weapons back, but now the Bush administration wants to use them.

The Bush Administration Wants Usable Nukes (and so does Lockheed Martin)

Several Bush advisors have suggested that the U.S. can significantly reduce the number of nuclear weapons in its current arsenal of 80,000 to 10,000 strategic warheads as long as it simultaneously moves to modernize the force by developing smaller, "low-yield" nuclear weapons. They like to speak of "usable nukes," the idea being that the use of nuclear weapons slightly smaller than the largest conventional weapons, would not cause an international outcry and, as their projected use is against non-nuclear powers, would not risk a nuclear response. Typically, at present, the stated mission of these "usable nukes," is to destroy hardened underground command centers or hidden weapons facilities, i.e., Osama bin Laden's cave complexes. As we move deeper into the war on terrorism we have every reason to believe that many new and exciting uses for "useable nukes" will reveal themselves to the various Bush advisors.

Indeed some conservative analysts have even



suggested that low-yield nukes are a “humanitarian” weapon, claiming that they can be used to take out underground biological warfare laboratories, for example, with less loss of life than would result from other approaches to destroying such facilities.

Let’s get it straight: There are no nuclear weapons small enough to be other than indiscriminate. More, given the radioactive fallout produced by all nuclear weapons, they are widely indiscriminate. According to a recent report of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. nuclear tests conducted in the South Pacific during the 1950s are responsible for over 80,000 cancers in the 48 contiguous United States — 15,000 of them fatal. Any nuclear detonation seeds the earth with cancers and possibly genetic mutations. There are no “usable” nukes.

The Nuclear Posture Review:

A Recipe for the New Nuclear Arms Race

With the demise of the Soviet Union 12 years ago, and U.S. military predominance entirely unchallenged, nothing has stood in the way of complete nuclear disarmament, save the political will of U.S. policymakers. The aggressive nuclear doctrine of the Bush administration, the stunning conventional military supremacy it enjoys and its demonstrated proclivity toward unilateral intervention could easily propel other states to develop nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction and targeting methods aimed at the U.S.

The ever-present cant of America’s beneficent intentions is at this point veneer thin. The most prominent lie now is that the United States and Russia are involved in serious nuclear arms reduction efforts. Both sides are slated to reduce their “actively deployed nuclear warheads” from 6,000 apiece to 1,700 - 2,200 by 2012. But this is little more than an accounting trick. By and large, the warheads will not be destroyed, but put in “inactive reserve.” Simultaneously, according the administration’s recently “leaked” Nuclear Posture Review (NPR), one of the many upgrades to America’s nuclear arsenal is the ability to reactivate nuclear components that have been placed in “inactive reserve.”

More directly, the NPR puts the world on notice that the present administration no longer views nuclear weapons as the weapon of last resort,

to deter or retaliate for a massive attack on the U.S. The document speaks of moving “from the threat-based approach of the Cold War to a capabilities based approach.” This means that the administration may choose to integrate the use of large-scale nuclear weapons into almost any military scenario, including engagements in which the U.S. is neither attacked nor threatened — for instance, if China should attempt to militarily integrate Taiwan, or if Iraq should attack *any* of its neighbors. The threat seems an open call for a renewed arms race on several fronts.

More, the document intimates that five new states are being pre-targeted for nuclear strikes. At a time when the Islamic world is seething with anger over U.S. bombings in Afghanistan, genocidal sanctions in Iraq and support for the Israeli obliteration of Palestine, four of these five target countries are predominantly Muslim. Is this a deliberate attempt to provoke further assaults by “Islamic terrorists” against the U.S. populace? Undoubtedly it will also heighten militant Islamic movements that already threaten the stability of several states: Indonesia, Malaysia and Pakistan.

Additionally, the NPR promises upgrades of every weapons system, is developing a new infrastructure for the development of the essential components of nuclear weapons, and is revamping the infrastructure for renewed underground testing. Clearly the NPR sets forth plans for the U.S. to continue developing nuclear weapons decades into the future. The document calls for a “new generation” of nuclear scientists to possibly develop entirely new nuclear weapons. These are not proposed reforms; they are all being actively pursued. Indeed, funding for core nuclear weapons programs has risen from the Cold War yearly average of \$4 billion dollars to \$5.3 billion dollars.

All of this is a clear violation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty signed by the United States in 1970. The treaty is essentially a pact whereby the five declared “Nuclear Weapons States” — China, Russia, Britain, France and the United States — promised to pursue good-faith negotiations toward complete nuclear disarmament, if the non-nuclear signatories, of which there are 182, would forswear nuclear weapons development in their own countries. Since the time of the treaty’s signing, three additional states have gone nuclear (India, Pakistan and Israel); and some forty states are deemed technically capable of producing nuclear



weapons. Recently Japanese politicians have begun to question Japan's nuclear pacifism. If China should increase its nuclear arsenal in response to U.S. provocations, Japan is likely to follow, and technically could do so very quickly.

National Missile Defense:

An Offensive System

It is alarming how seamlessly National Missile Defense fits into the Bush administration's nuclear provocations. Bush's solution to nuclear buildups in Russia or China, or proliferation into various other states is to say, "that's why we need Missile Defense." The Bush doctrine would trust in our spiffy new Star Wars system to protect us. The fact that such a system is far from reality and may never successfully be built does not seem to cool the passions of the new generation of nuclear use theorists (or NUTs, as some critics have called them).

On June 12th the Bush administration formally, and without the consent of Congress, pulled out of the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty (long considered the cornerstone of legal disarmament mechanisms), in its spurious quest to set up a National Ballistic Missile Defense System. The science of this extremely complex series of systems is beyond foreseeable capabilities. Under the guise of defense, however, it could potentially fund the development of offensive space-based weaponry. In the more near-term, it will similarly fund a limited array of ballistic missile interceptors, long recognized as a necessary component of a nuclear first strike. As the logic goes, a massive nuclear first strike with the present generation of highly accurate U.S. missiles would destroy the vast majority of an enemy's missiles before they could be launched. A further portion of the enemy's limited response would be mopped up by the proposed missile interceptors. Most likely, a few missiles would still reach the U.S. mainland. But as our state structure would remain intact, we would have "won."

Insane as it is, the man who actually conceived the above scenario, Dr. Keith Payne of the National Institute of Public Policy, was recently appointed head of the Pentagon's Deterrence Concepts Advisory Panel. According to Dr. Payne, we could lose 20 million Americans in this "victory." Three other members of the same nuclear think tank presently sit on the National Security Council!

Enormous sums of money have already been wasted on this reckless missile "defense" scheme: \$70 billion dollars to date, \$8.3 billion this year alone. The costs of the full system are already estimated in the range of \$238 billion dollars over the next twenty years. This money not only misdirects our finest scientific minds and endeavors and perverts our universities with military research contracts, it diverts funds that could be devoted to poor and middle-income Americans for general welfare — schools, clean water, clean energy development and health care.

While all these critical areas suffer from underfunding, at least one sector of U.S. society will benefit from this dangerous new doctrine. Weapons manufacturers like Lockheed Martin, which runs the Sandia nuclear weapons engineering laboratory in New Mexico and builds Trident submarine-launched ballistic missiles, will profit handsomely from Bush's Orwellian approach of reducing the numbers of old nuclear weapons in the field while investing heavily in the development and deployment of new nukes. And the big four weapons contractors — Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Raytheon, and TRW — will reap the lion's share of the Star Wars extravaganza, the \$238 billion, building both the new weapons and the new defenses against the counter-measures those new weapons spawn.

As it has in the past, our enormous defense budget funds research in high-tech industries, the findings of which are immediately "privatized" and can be patented and transferred to multiple commercial applications by the contractor. Thus U.S. high-tech corporations have maintained a leading edge in everything from aeronautics to computer chips.

These same companies then reinvest their profits in campaign contributions, perverting our democracy. In just the past two election cycles the top ten nuclear weapons and missile defense contractors spent more than \$12 million on political donations.

This military industrial complex is more deeply integrated into the Bush administration than perhaps any other administration in history. As a report from the Arms Trade Resource Center, a project of the World Policy Institute, recently revealed, some "32 major appointees of the present administration are former executives, consultants, or major shareholders of top defense contractors." To



name just a handful, these include Secretary of State Colin Powell, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, Assistant Secretary of State Otto Reich, Secretary of the Navy Gordon England, Secretary of the Air Force James Roche, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force Nelson Gibbs and Assistant Secretary of the Air Force Peter B. Teets. Meanwhile, until recently, Lynne Cheney, wife of the Vice President, served on the Board of Directors of the largest defense contractor, Lockheed Martin.

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THE AGE OF TERROR

IV. The Not-So-Subtle Nuclear Weapons-Nuclear Reactor Connection

By Paul Gunter

Nuclear Information and Resource Service

Nuclear weapons and atomic reactors have always been one and the same industry predating the first commercial power reactors, starting with Enrico Fermi's original atomic pile at Chicago Stadium as part of the Manhattan Project for the first atomic bomb.

The Atomic Energy Commission of the United States first revealed the goal of a budding U.S. industrial nuclear power industry in its promotional publication "Reactor Science and Technology" (October 1952, Vol. 2, No. 3) with a proposal to design, construct and operate atomic power reactors for the production of military plutonium and the cogeneration of commercial electricity. This proposal was based on the assumptions that "the long-term military requirements for plutonium exceeded the then existing and planned production facilities; that it would be desirable to reduce the cost of this metal to the government; that it would likewise be desirable to make use of the large quantities of heat attending the production of plutonium and not being utilized under existing conditions; and, finally, that the most nearly practicable use of such heat would be for the generation of useful quantities of electrical power."

The worldwide proliferation of nuclear weapons and the development of commercial nuclear power thus became only opposite sides of the same coin as evidenced by the transfer of "civilian" nuclear power technology and the simultaneous development of nuclear weapons in India, Pakistan, China and other nation states.

Recent developments in the United States have

only made the weapons-power connection more blatant.

In a collaboration between the U.S. Department of Energy, the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the federal Tennessee Valley Authority and electrical utilities such as Duke Energy, the so-called line between the "Peaceful Atom" and nuclear weapons is now being erased.

Plutonium is being established as a valuable commercial interest through its proposed use as "mixed-oxide" fuel or MOX in U.S. nuclear power plants, initially piloted in Duke Energy reactors at its Catawba Units in South Carolina and McGuire Units in North Carolina. The merger of federal government and private utilities would blend down plutonium weapons pits with uranium oxide (converted from depleted uranium) for fuel to fission in reactors to generate electricity. While touted as a nuclear weapons destruction program, there would be no net loss of plutonium due to the plutonium by-product gain by the fissioning of the uranium oxide. In fact, plutonium would only become a deadly currency exchanged between its military and commercial power counterparts.

The federal Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), through its operation of the Watts Bar nuclear power station in Tennessee, is proposing a license



amendment process from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to allow it to technically alter its reactor core to generate and mass produce tritium, an isotopic form of hydrogen, for the Department of Energy nuclear weapons refurbishment program. The retooling of the Watts Bar nuclear power station places the U.S. commercial nuclear power industry directly on the assembly line for putting the H in the H-bombs.

For more information on how you can get involved in breaking the nuclear chain contact:

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V. Countdown to Midnight: The Bush Administration's Nuclear Madness

By Frida Berrigan
The Nonviolent Activist, July 2002

In May the United States and Russia agreed on a reduction in strategic nuclear warheads. Beneath the glossy veneer of handshakes and photo-ops at the Kremlin lay the sobering reality demonstrating the fragility of such agreements.

The agreement by the two largest nuclear powers to reduce deployed strategic warheads by two-thirds over the next ten years was heralded as a historic breakthrough. In some ways it is: It is the first agreement on nuclear weapons reductions of any kind in more than a decade. But the agreement nevertheless leaves the Bush administration free to do pretty much anything it wants. As Jon Stewart of *The Daily Show* on Comedy Central observed, "Instead of being able to blow the world up 11 or 12 times over, we'll only be able to do it 4 or 5 times."

THE AGREEMENT:

- Sets no schedule for the reductions, as long as the desired levels — to 1,700 - 2,200 deployed weapons, compared with roughly 6,000 on each side now — are reached by 2012. (In theory, either side could even increase deployed weapons between now and then as long as they come back down to the agreed levels by the end of the ten-year period.)
- Weapons withdrawn from active service do not have to be destroyed; thousands may be saved as part of the "active response" force the Bush administration wants to maintain so that it can re-deploy weapons on short notice.
- Research and development of new kinds of

nuclear weapons, like the bunker busting "Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator," will not be restricted, and missile defense development will move ahead at full speed.

- In fact, even once the agreement comes into force, the U.S. will continue to make massive new investments — at least \$33 billion in the next five years alone — in its "New Triad" of long-range strike systems, missile defenses and a revitalized nuclear weapons production complex. And that doesn't even take into account the additional billions the administration will be spending on the militarization of space, which Defense Secretary Rumsfeld sees as the "new high ground" for guaranteeing U.S. military superiority for generations to come.

Finally, to top it off, either side can withdraw from the agreement with just 90 days notice. No wonder one Bush official described it as "our kind of agreement."

Emphasizing the trivial aspects of the Bush-Putin "agreement" is the release in March of classified portions of the Pentagon's Nuclear Posture Review (which got only limited media attention when first released in outline form in January) that name nuclear weapons as a central and usable component of the U.S. "anti-terror" arsenal. The



Pentagon report stresses the need to develop new nuclear capabilities for use against hardened underground targets like bunkers. The Bush policy appears to take this dangerous approach a step further by embracing the development of “usable” low-yield weapons (known as “mini-nukes”) as a central goal of U.S. nuclear policy.

The review suggests shifting U.S. strategic forces from the Cold War triad of ICBMs, bombers and submarine-launched ballistic missiles to a triad of forces that includes both non-nuclear and nuclear strike capabilities and highlights the costly Star Wars “defense” system. Given all of this, it is uncannily prescient that the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, a historic antinuclear organization founded by Manhattan Project scientists, moved the minute hand of their “Doomsday Clock” closer to nuclear midnight this past February 27.

The Doomsday Clock was designed by the Bulletin founders in 1947 to evoke both the imagery of apocalypse (midnight) and the contemporary idiom of military attack, the countdown to Zero Hour. The clock has stood between 17 and nine minutes before midnight since the end of the Cold War. At the height of tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States in 1984 the clock stood at three minutes to midnight, dramatically expressing the imminence of nuclear danger.

This most recent “tick-tocking” from nine to seven minutes to nuclear midnight was triggered by a series of serious setbacks in international security catalogued in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists’

February press release:

- Too little progress on global nuclear disarmament;
- Growing concerns about the security of nuclear weapons materials worldwide;
- The continuing U.S. preference for unilateral action rather than cooperative international diplomacy;
- U.S. abandonment of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and U.S. efforts to thwart the enactment of international agreements designed to constrain proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons;
- The crisis between India and Pakistan;
- Terrorist efforts to acquire and use nuclear and biological weapons;
- The growing inequality between rich and poor around the world that increases the potential for violence and war.

The Bulletin concludes with a grim but inescapable picture: “Moving the clock’s hands at this time reflects our growing concern that the international community has hit the ‘snooze’ button rather than respond[ing] to the alarm.”

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VI. The First Fireball: The U.S. Nuclear Attack on Hiroshima Paved the Way for September 11 and Its Aftermath

By John Berger

The Guardian of London, June 29, 2002

Now that the number of innocent civilian victims killed collaterally in Afghanistan by the U.S. bombardments is equal to the number killed in the attack on the Twin Towers, we can perhaps place the events in a larger, but not less tragic perspective, and face a new question: is it more evil or reprehensible to kill deliberately than to systematically kill blindly? (Systematically because the same logic of U.S. armed strategy began with the Gulf War.) I don't know the answer to the question. On the ground, among the cluster bombs dropped by B52s or the stifling smoke in Church Street, Manhattan, perhaps ethical judgments cannot be comparative.

When on September 11 I watched the videos on television, I was instantly reminded of August 6, 1945. We in Europe heard the news of the bombing of Hiroshima on the evening of the same day. The immediate correspondences between the two events include a fireball descending without warning from a clear sky, both attacks being timed to coincide with the civilians of the targeted city going to work in the morning, with the shops opening, with children in school preparing their lessons. A similar reduction to ashes, with bodies, flung through the air, becoming debris. A comparable incredulity and chaos provoked by a new weapon of destruction being used for the first time — the A-bomb 60 years ago, and a civil airliner last autumn. Everywhere at the epicenter, on everything and everybody, a thick pall of dust.

The differences of context and scale are of

course enormous. In Manhattan the dust was not radioactive. In 1945 the United States had been waging a full-scale, three-year-old war with Japan. Both attacks, however, were planned as announcements. Watching either, one knew that the world would never again be the same; the risks everywhere, to which life was heir, had been changed on the morning of a new unclouded day.

The bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki announced that the U.S. was henceforth the supreme armed power in the world. The attack of September 11 announced that this power was no longer guaranteed invulnerability on its home ground. The two events mark the beginning and end of a certain historical period.

Concerning President Bush's riposte to September 11 — his so-called war against terrorism, which was first baptized Infinite Justice, and then renamed Enduring Freedom — the most trenchant and anguished comments and analyses I have come across, during the last six months, have been made and written by U.S. citizens. The accusation of "anti-Americanism" against those of us who adamantly oppose the present decision-makers in Washington is as shortsighted as the policies in question. There are countless "anti-American" U.S. citizens, with whom we are in solidarity.

There are also many U.S. citizens who support these policies, including the 60 intellectuals (Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington among them) who recently signed a statement which set out to define what is a "just" war in general, and why in particular the operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, and the ongoing war against terrorism, are justified. The statement was widely published in the U.S. and appeared in *Le Monde* and other

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European papers.

They argued that the moral justification for a just war is when its purpose is to defend the innocent against evil. They quoted St Augustine. They added that such a war must respect as far as possible the immunity of non-combatants.

If their text is read innocently (and of course it was not written either spontaneously or innocently), it suggests a patient gathering of erudite, quietly spoken experts, with access to a great library (and perhaps, between sessions, a swimming pool) who have the time and quiet to reflect, to discuss their hesitations, and finally to come to an agreement and offer their judgment. And it suggests that this meeting took place somewhere in a mythic six-star hotel (access only by helicopter) in its own spacious grounds, surrounded by high walls with guards and checkpoints. No contact whatsoever between thinkers and the local populations. No chance meetings. As a result, what really happened in history and what is happening today beyond the walls of the hotel is unadmitted and unknown. Isolated De Luxe Tourist Ethics.

Return to the summer of 1945. Sixty-six of Japan's largest cities had been burned down by napalm bombing. In Tokyo a million civilians were homeless and 100,000 people had died. They had been, according to Major General Curtis Lemay, who was in charge of the fire-bombing operations, "scorched and boiled and baked to death." President Franklin Roosevelt's son and confidant said that the bombing should continue "until we have destroyed about half the Japanese civilian population." On July 18 the Japanese emperor telegraphed President Truman, who had succeeded Roosevelt, and once again asked for peace. The message was ignored.

A few days before the bombing of Hiroshima, Vice Admiral Radford boasted that "Japan will eventually be a nation without cities — a nomadic people." The bomb, exploding above a hospital in the center of the city, killed 100,000 people instantly, 95% of them civilians. Another 100,000 died slowly from burns and effects of radiation.

"Sixteen hours ago," President Truman announced, "an American airplane dropped one bomb on Hiroshima, an important Japanese army base." One month later the first uncensored report — by the intrepid Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett — described the cataclysmic suffering he encountered after visiting a makeshift hospital in

the city.

General Groves, who was the military director of the Manhattan Project for planning and manufacturing the bomb, hastily reassured congressmen that radiation caused no "undue suffering" and that "in fact, they say it is a very pleasant way to die." In 1946 the U.S. strategic bombing survey came to the conclusion that "Japan would have surrendered even if atomic bombs had not been dropped."

To describe a course of events as briefly as I have is, of course, to oversimplify. The Manhattan Project was started in 1942 when Hitler was triumphant and there was the risk that researchers in Germany might manufacture atomic weapons first. The U.S. decision, when this risk no longer existed, to drop two atomic bombs on Japan, needs to be considered in the shadow of the atrocities committed by Japanese armed forces across south-east Asia, and the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. There were U.S. commanders and certain scientists working on the Manhattan Project who did their best to delay or argue against Truman's fateful decision.

Yet finally, when all was said and done, the unconditional surrender of Japan on August 14 could not have been, and was certainly not, celebrated as the longed-for victory. There was an anguish at the center of it, and a blindness which blinded.

I tell this story to show how far even from the reality of their own history were the 60 American thinkers in their six-star mythic hotel. I tell it also as a reminder of how the period of U.S. armed supremacy, which opened in 1945, began for all those outside the U.S. orbit with a blinding demonstration of a remote and ignorant ruthlessness. When President Bush asks himself "why do they hate us," he might ponder this — except that he is one of the directors of the six-star hotel and never leaves it.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

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TOOLS FOR ANTI-NUCLEAR ORGANIZING IN THE AGE OF TERROR

VII. The Next Steps: Learning More for Action and Resistance

Organizations

THE ABOLITION 2000 NETWORK

212-726-9161

A global network to eliminate nuclear weapons, Abolition 2000 is currently made up of 1,632 organizations, as well as 245 municipalities in 93 countries. www.abolition2000.org/index.html

ARMS TRADE RESOURCE CENTER

212-229-5808 ext. 112

The ATRC, a project of the World Policy Institute, recently published a report on the Bush administration's nuclear policy entitled, *About Face: The Role of the Arms Lobby In the Bush Administration's Radical Reversal of Two Decades of U.S. Nuclear Policy*. Read it online at www.worldpolicy.org/projects/arms/reports/reportaboutface.html

BULLETIN OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

773-702-0725

Established by Manhattan Project Scientists, this organization's mission is to educate citizens about global security issues, especially the continuing dangers posed by nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. And it does that very well, publishing a readable and highly regarded magazine and compiling regular updates of nuclear weapons stocks throughout the world. www.thebulletin.org

CENTER FOR DEFENSE INFORMATION NUCLEAR SITE

202-332-0600

Founded by retired senior U.S. military officers, this Washington-based organization provides detailed

information and analysis on international nuclear issues and generally on security and defense issues. www.cdi.org/nuclear/

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

202-543-4100

CLW is a very effective arms control organization that focuses on halting the spread of weapons of mass destruction, opposing a national missile defense system, cutting Pentagon waste and reducing excessive arms exports. www.clw.org

ENVIROVIDEO

EnviroVideo produces environmental and social justice programs for television — including interview and news shows, specials and documentaries. They have great resources on nuclear weapons, nuclear power and (perhaps most importantly) activism. Box 311, Ft. Tilden, NY 11695. www.envirovideo.com, envirovideo@earthlink.net

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION

202-547-6000

This invaluable congressional watchdog and lobbying organization has a nuclear issues page that provides information on upcoming votes in Congress and actions citizens can take. www.fcnl.org/hottopics_index.htm#nuc

INDIGENOUS ENVIRONMENTAL NETWORK

218-751-0561

This network of 200 indigenous organizations, traditional societies, and communities is organizing to oppose nuclear waste storage on native land but also against the larger issues of nuclear weapons



proliferation and environmental racism. Their website has information and action alerts for many campaigns to oppose nuclear waste storage, mining projects and other environmentally and humanly harmful activities.

www.ienearth.org/subject.html#nuclear

INSTITUTE FOR ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH

301-270-5500

IEER is dedicated to increasing public involvement in and control over environmental problems through the democratization of science. Its *Fabulous Factsheet File* guarantees “more facts... less jargon” on the hard science of nuclear weapons and nuclear abolition. www.ieer.org

THE NATION

212-209-5400

The Nation magazine has a number of very informative and engaging resources on nuclear weapons. Its “Failsafe Point” site, written by contributor Matt Bivens, offers analysis on nuclear issues, the lobbying efforts of nuclear corporations. www.thenation.com/failsafe/index.mhtml?bid=2&pid=78

NATURAL RESOURCE DEFENSE COUNCIL

212-727-2700

NRDC acts as a bridge between the environmental and disarmament concerns about nuclear weapons, advocating the elimination of nuclear weapons and nuclear power. www.nrdc.org/nuclear/default.asp

THE NUCLEAR FILES

805-965-3443

This site provides extensive information on nuclear weapons and nuclear war, because an informed citizenry is the best means of overcoming complacency about the nuclear dangers that continue to confront us. www.nuclearfiles.org/

NUCLEAR INFORMATION AND RESOURCE SERVICE & WORLD INFORMATION SERVICE ON ENERGY

202-328-0002

NIRS/WISE is an information and networking center for citizens and environmental organizations concerned about nuclear power, radioactive waste, radiation, and sustainable energy issues. Its website has mountains of information, much of it in easy to understand factsheets. www.nirs.org

THE NUCLEAR RESISTER

520-323-8697

Since 1980, Felice and Jack Cohen-Joppa have been editing and publishing this quarterly magazine with the aim of providing comprehensive reporting on arrests for anti-nuclear civil resistance in the United States and Canada. *The Nuclear Resister* also acts as a clearinghouse for information about contemporary nonviolent resistance to war and the nuclear threat. www.nonviolence.org/nukeresister/

NUKEWATCH

715-472-4185

This Wisconsin-based environmental and peace action group brings critical attention to the locations, movements, dangers, and the politics of nuclear weapons and radioactive wastes. Staff and volunteers advocate Gandhian nonviolence in education and action, and report on nuclear issues in a quarterly newsletter, *The Pathfinder*. www.nukewatch.com

THE MAP SCIENCE CENTER

The U.S. government just decided to store nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain in Nevada. Trucks carrying nuclear waste will be travelling U.S.'s highways to bring the highly radioactive waste to Nevada. The question on many people's lips is: “What if there is a nuclear waste accident that involves the release of radiation?” The Map Science Center answers that question with solid information and maps of what waste the nuclear waste trucks will use. *What If? Nuclear Waste Accident Scenarios in the United States* www.mapscience.org/plumes/

THE URGENT CALL TO END NUCLEAR DANGER

617-354-4337

This new coalition effort “is a rallying cry for all those who are worried about the drift toward nuclear catastrophe.” Spearheaded by antinuclear thinkers Randall Forsberg, David Cortwright and Jonathan Schell, the “Urgent Call” has already been signed by a broad array of groups and individuals and urges the United States and Russia to fulfill their commitments under the Nonproliferation Treaty, renounce the first use of nuclear weapons, end development, testing and production of nuclear weapons and take nuclear weapons off hair trigger alert. To read a copy of the “Urgent Call” and find out how you can help visit www.urgentcall.org



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212-228-0450

You're looking at the packet that we published, and may have looked at the website as well. And you probably know *The Nonviolent Activist*, which comes out every other month; the July/August issue, from which one of the articles in this packet is taken, has a focus on the continuing nuclear threat. Many of the people who wind up working with these weapons are young people who do not know other options for their lives. We have produced a video called "Military Myths," focusing on countering military recruitment; the video works to dispel the myths about military life. It is a project of our ROOTS program for young people. (For more information about either of these areas, email nva@warresisters.org or roots@warresisters.org.) We also publish other flyers and brochures that can help you in your work for peace; for these, or information about obtaining a copy of the magazine or video, please contact us. www.warresisters.org.

WOMEN'S ACTION FOR NEW DIRECTIONS (WAND)

781-643-6740

Formerly Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, WAND has as its mission to empower women to act politically to reduce violence and militarism, and redirect excessive military resources toward unmet human and environmental needs. Toward that end, the organization produces great action alerts and condensed information and analysis. www.wand.org

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF)

215-563-7110

WILPF has been doing amazing work since 1915. Its Reaching Critical Will project is a clearinghouse of information from the United Nations on nuclear-related treaties like the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), Anti Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and countless others that the United States is in the process of steamrolling. Also on the RCW site is a great resource jointly developed by WILPF and the ATRC, *Partners in Mass Destruction: The Dirtiest Dozen Nuclear Corporations*, which profiles 13 nuclear companies. www.wilpf.org
www.reachingcriticalwill.org

Books

Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam*, Pluto Press, 1994. Makes the case that the use of the Bomb was the first act of the Cold War.

Praful Bidwai, *New Nukes: India, Pakistan and Global Nuclear Disarmament*, Interlink, 2000.

Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Nuclear Age*, University of North Carolina Press, 1994. What Americans thought of the Bomb from 1945 to 1950.

Helen Caldicott, *The New Nuclear Danger, George Bush's Military Industrial Complex*, The New Press, 2002.

April Carter, *Peace Movements: International Press and World Politics Since 1945*. Longman, 1992. A survey of peace movements around the world in the past fifty years.

Eleanor Coerr with drawings by Ed Young, *Sadako*, Putnam, reprinted in 1997. A picture book story of a young victim of the Hiroshima bombing.

David Cortwright, *Peace Works: A Citizen's Role in Ending the Cold War*, Westview Press, 1993. The interaction of the peace movement and the Soviet and U.S. governments since the late 1970s.

Michael D'Antonio, *Atomic Harvest: Hanford and the Lethal Toll of America's Nuclear Arsenal*, Crown, 1994.

Charles DeBenedetti, ed., *Peace Heroes in Twentieth-Century America*, Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1988.

Carole Gallagher, *American Ground Zero: The Secret Nuclear War*. Random House, 1993. The effects of nuclear weapons tests on communities "downwind" of nuclear testing sites in the United States.

John Hersey, *Hiroshima*, Random House, 1989. The classic account of what happened in Hiroshima after the United States dropped the atomic bomb.



Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America: A Half Century of Denial*, Avon, 1996.

Greg Ruggiero & Stuart Sahulka, eds., *Critical Mass: Voices for a Nuclear-Free Future*, 1996.

Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth*, Stanford University Press, reissued 2000.

Lawrence S. Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: One World or None: A History of the World Disarmament Movement*, Two Volumes, Stanford Press, 1998.

A number of these books, and many others, are available for sale at the War Resisters League's online bookstore at www.warresisters.org/html/frontpage.html

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